

[40]EXCOMMUNICATE TO--khioo ne ton ches literally, "to eject from the flock." For offences against religion, Buddhists may be excommunicated by the abbot or "hlóbon" for a longer or shorter period. The offender gives a goat or other offering, and is then received back into the fold. The giving of such penitential offerings is called "Shakspa cho ches."

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EXORCISE TO--rdud (or drey or hländrey) ton ches. There are two ways of exorcising evil spirits, or driving away sickness. One way is for the Láma to come into the room where the evil spirit is, and, while reading prayers, etc., to strike the air with his "dorje phurba" or "magic dagger", thus killing or driving out the demon. The other way is to make a clay figure, and then by means of prayers, etc., to cause the evil spirit, or demon of sickness, to take up his abode in this figure which is then, amid much hissing and shouting, taken out of doors and destroyed.

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[42]FARM--There are no farms in Ladák, the land is cultivated by peasant proprietors who, however, have to pay a land tax to the Kashmir Durbar. Each holding is termed a "zhing" or "zhing kháng" and the holder is termed "zhingrdak." For further particulars see under heading "Entail."

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FATHER--ábá or respectfully yap the eldest father, ágoo the younger fathers. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladák. The eldest brother marries a wife and the younger brothers share her with him. It is usual for as many as three brothers to thus live together, if there are more than three brothers, some of them leave the house on their own account. All children born are considered the children of the eldest brother, but a child speaking of its "fathers" would call the eldest father "ábá" or "ábá chhenmo," the middle one "ába parma," and the young one "ába chhungan." The younger fathers may also be termed ágoo. The actual father is the "ába ngótok."

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[43]FERRY--raps or chhocraps a ford, náí or toochhung a ferry boat. There are only two ferry boats in Ladák, the one is at the Shyok, crossing between Khardong and Tsáti, and the other is at the Shyok crossing at the north base of the Sasseer Pass.

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751 The
[326] goldsmith in Leh, who also produced many temple implements aside from the women's ornaments that he made, had sold him the silver one for two rupees; the consecration by the lama, who inserted a magical piece of paper by which the amulet obtained its magical power, cost another 12 anna (equals Reichsmark 1.00).

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783 Despite all these protective measures, in spite of all pious exercises and arts of exorcism performed by the priests, little Droga Namgyal became seriously sick when he was about two years old, around the time of the ripening of the apricots. He suffered from a
[757] very bad stomach and intestinal disease which could not be alleviated by any of the remedies applied to it, such as the eating of flour porridge, medicines, and the like. How was this possible after all the protective measures which had been taken up? There must be some special reason for this. /28/ Grandmother Tsering Putrid turned to investigating. She wanted by all means to find out what it was. After two days she came back filled with anger from the neighbor women with whom she had had a long, excited conversation. Now she had discovered the cause. The niece Yangdsom, who often had to take care of the little boy and who then carried him around tied to her back by a wide shawl, had gone out of curiosity into the house of Dragtschanpa. The latter's wife had recently died, and the niece had gone into see what the lamas, who had gone in with books, censers and musical instruments, were doing there. In so doing she had, of course, become impure, together with the unsuspecting child on her back, and the house god was angered about this. The stupid girl! For this stupidity she should have her ears boxed a couple of times once she had been purified again by an offering. And what was to happen to the sick darling? The lama
● 755 Mipam who was much in demand as a healer, was called into the
783 house. The lama sat down by the side of the mother who had the child in her lap and was crouching on a carpet; he took a book and began to read prayers to the medicine Buddha Manla (Tibetan: sMan-bla, in Sanskrit: Bhaishajyaguru), the great healer of all sicknesses. Then he produced a small brass mirror which had a loop at its edge through which was tied a strip of white silk. This mirror the lama held before the child's face in such manner that its reflection was visible in the mirror. Then he sprinkled consecrated water from a small metal jug several times over the image in the mirror at the same time constantly mumbling prayers and formulas to himself. By this process, as the holy man explained, the child was purified of all stains.

Then the lama took a slip of paper on which he had written a

powerful formula of exorcism against the angered household deity. 755●
 Now he held the mirror in such a way towards the magical writing on 783
 the piece of paper that its mirrored image became visible, and then
 he again poured hallowed water over the mirror so that the power of
 the formula might be transferred to the water. The mother had to
 catch the water that flowed down in a bowl. Of this water saturated
 with magical powers, a few spoonfuls were forced into the violently
 resisting child who spat them out again with all signs of disgust. /29/
 The mother looked anxiously at the lama. Could the magic, then,
 work in this way? But the lama consoled her and said: "The power of
 this magical water is so great that the few drops which the child has
 swallowed will still have their effect." Furthermore the mother now
 had to finish the rest of the "wonder drink"; since she was the one
 who nursed the child, it would in this way benefit from the full power
 of the drink. So said the lama and assured her that by this double
 "baptism" (Tibetan: ak'rus, pronounced trus) the child was purified
 and the P'alha exorcized. He would not bother the child any more
 for the time being. True, it was a full fourteen days before the child
 gradually started recovering. But to most in the house it was certain
 that the recovery had been the effect of the "baptism" of the lama.

Little Drotpa Namgyal grew up to be a robust boy and soon 000
 there was, in the circle of his playmates, no stronger, more skillful
 or livelier boy than he. As a son of the respected Dragshos and be-
 cause of his superiority in all their boys' games he was well liked and
 respected by his companions. They even endured his occasionally
 domineering behavior, mostly without contradiction, because on the
 other hand he showed himself as a good friend who was always ready
 to help.

/30/ EDUCATION FOR A HIGHLAND FARMER AND HERDER

Drotpa Namgyal Becomes Acquainted
 with All Kinds of Animals and with Sinister Powers.

When he was only three to four years of age Drotpa Namgyal 868
 already accompanied his father and his mother to the fields and there
 began, without his being conscious of it, the school in which the
 person takes in a mass of observations, discoveries, impressions and
 opinions even without the compulsory attendance or discipline of a
 formal school, and without a book or writing implement. These

000 previous magistrate had enriched himself considerably by accepting bribes and through fraud in the collection of the taxes (as so many of the higher and lower officials did in the country). This had finally landed him in jail.

777 Among his compatriots Namgyal was considered a lucky person. "No wonder," they would say, "after all, he was born under a lucky star. His Sparka, Mewa, and Lungta signs (astrological signs) are high; even the worst demons cannot harm him." They liked to apply [538] an old proverb to him: The lucky person (who was born under favorable stars) you may chase, you won't catch him; the unlucky person may flee, he will not get away (159).

159. The proverb reads in Tibetan: nos-agrug-la aded-de mi non / rkyen-nan-la sor-te mi bud.

000 Thus it looked as though the ninth year of Namgyal's married life, the earth-tiger year, was also to be a fortunate year. The old devil-tamer (Dorje Dud-joms) was still practising his black art and without Namgyal's consulting him, since by now he refused the sooth-sayer's services completely, the latter had said that the new year would be a year of good fortune for him and his house, judging by all the signs. Namgyal's wife had secretly asked the old Gya-mt'so-pa, the fairytale teller. The latter had consulted destiny in his own manner. Nothing pointed to approaching disaster, he said. The Dragshos people could rest easy.

With a contented mind Namgyal had set about his spring tasks. Then suddenly dark clouds gathered over his house.

755 His boy, Trashi Rigdsin, who had developed into a strong, straight lad with joy in living and doing, became ill of a violent intestinal disease during the summer at the time of the ripening of the apricots. In a short time he pined away to a mere skeleton. All medicines of the lharje (magical doctor), blood-letting, burning with /180/ red-hot iron, the mirror cure, the "baptism" with the drinking 000 of the magical water (160), none of it was of any avail. The lamas

757 177 160. Tibetan medicine is laid down in a series of volumes (in block-printing) in the great collective work of the Buddhist canon (bka-agyur, pronounced Kangyur). The main work of these is the Gyud-ji (rgyud-bzhi). Tibetan medical knowledge is based in part on Indian, in part on

and had he perhaps sat down by the stove and in this way angered the household god and the hearth god by making house and hearth impure by his presence?" With these and other, similar questions the patient was tormented; but all these questions were answered with no. Finally it turned out that the Mon, Chospell, (therefore an impure person) from the neighboring village, who was an enthusiastic huntsman /182/, had come into the house late one evening with the "red" (that is the fresh) meat of one of the wild sheep that he had shot, in order to pay off with the meat a debt of grain that he had with the Dragshos. Now this was a threefold transgression: first of all, killing was a great sin; secondly, the gods, especially the red Tsan-demons, were angered and provoked by the sight of this "red" meat; and thirdly, the household god was insulted by the sight of an impure person (the Mon) in the house. And in the tracks of such a visitor, if he was an impure one, there followed evil spirits into the house. These must now be exorcised by means of a scattered fire offering; and they must be chased away (t'sa-me p'ah-ces). While the men were still talking the Mon, Chospell, who was a carpenter, came again in order to deliver a small table that he had made. He was not admitted, but had to wait outside away from the house for a long time. 753

Meanwhile the first lama had a flat, iron pan handed to him, 755 and said to Namgyal: "I want to show you how one makes a scattered fire offering and how one appeases and drives the evil spirits away with it." Namgyal had to put all kinds of leftovers from meals in the pan--pieces of bread, flour, rice, bones, onions, and salt--and on top of this he had to place red-hot coals and hot ashes, so that the house was soon filled with a stinking vapor. Now all the inhabitants of the house went through the stable down to the house door with the lama. The lama opened the door and threw some of the smoldering contents of the pan onto the threshold. The Mon who was still waiting outside to be let in, was now allowed to step over the vaporous mass and over the threshold and into the house, and to carry out his business. The lama declared that the evil spirits, gods, and demons were now all pacified and soothed; the red Tsan-demons, the Nod-jin (gnod-sbyin), who are the terror of the mountain passes, the devils (bdud), the water and earth deities (klu, sa-bdag), the Jungpo demons and fiends, the man-eating Shasa (śaza), the wondrous Mimchi (mi-am-ci), creatures half man, half god; the heavenly musicians (the Kinnara of Hindu mythology); the smell-eating Drisa (dri-za), angel-like creatures with wings, the "Non-gods" (lha-nia-yin), the giants of the sacred Mountain 755 776

955 of the gods, Meru; the Dripo, the Drimo, the Poyong, the Moyong,
 776 the Lhandre (lha-adre), all of these were /183/ now appeased and did not have to be feared any more, so the lama assured them; lured by the "sweet smell" of the food, they had, he explained, come to the spot immediately in order to enjoy it. And now, he stated, they were satisfied, had disappeared, and would no longer do the sick woman any harm, and she would certainly recover soon now.

753 Meanwhile the sick Chosskyid did not recuperate. Despite all
 755 the statements of the lamas, the lharje, and the devil-tamer, foretelling her recovery, her condition became worse. There must be something special in the matter; certain gods are obviously still angry at the patient, said the great Lama Mipam. What in all the world has she done! They tortured the deathly weak woman with new questions. Finally came the answer: once she had accidentally burned some dog's excrement with dry cow dung, and another time she had also burned
 [776] an old rag in the stove. By these actions the hearth god (l'ab-lha) and apparently another god who just happened to be housed in a tree in the neighborhood, had been provoked. Their olfactory nerves, which in Tibet ordinarily were not spoiled, could not stand this stink. The gods demanded the "five pleasing offerings" (adod-~~yon~~-lha) for the five senses: for the taste--a food and drink offering: for the smell--flowers or incense offering: for the sense of sight--a mirror: for the hearing--musical instruments which, like the mirror, were placed before the altar: for the touch--silken clothes and similar articles.

753 Further, the confession was pressed out of the patient that during
 776 the past autumn she had drunk from the well in the course of the grass gathering over there by the slope of the mountain beyond the Indus. At this well is housed the dreaded Lu, the water and snake god. She had been so thirsty that she just had to drink. But this had of course driven the Lu to anger, said the lama; for this he had made her ill. Finally Chosskyid also confessed that once in a great rush she had spilled a bucket of dish water over one of the red-painted stones before her house that are dedicated to the red Tsan god. That was another bad transgression which had aroused the fire in the gods.

755 To appease the Lu gods, the lamas read the book which they had brought along just in case, of the "hundred thousand Lu" (klu-abum); the Tsan deities received a storma (sacrificial cake for the /184/ cast offering), to which the lamas gave the shape of a human being and which they painted red. After reciting formulas of exorcism they carried the figure behind the house and into the adjoining desert and

there flung it among the boulders. The Tsan wanted to have his revenge, and now he could spend his fury on this figure. 755 ●

Finally another "important matter" came to light. The old grandmother, who constantly observed the Chondsom girl from the Car's-mouth house with suspicious glances, thought that she could remember that that evil woman had once spat (161) very conspicuously 754

161. The Tibetans have a special expression for this kind of spitting with the purpose of harming an enemy: nad-pai to-le adebs-pa, the "spitting for sickness," that is, with the intention of making the particular person sick. In spitting, a curse or evil wish is expressed. [827]

in front of the Dragshos house, and that in so doing she had cast an evil glance at the house and mumbled a few evil words. Thereupon the lharje was called in once more. He took a strip of paper, on this he wrote a few magical formulas, crumpled the paper up, and made little pellets out of it. These the patient was to swallow. The effect of this was that the woman, to whom all food was repugnant anyway, had to vomit. This concerned the lharje very little; he urged that the woman should swallow the paper pills amidst great pain, something which always had the same effect. 755

Meanwhile none of the natural or supernatural remedies brought any improvement to the poor sick woman: for weeks she hovered between life and death and caused great concern to husband and children. Finally the missionary's medicine brought some improvement. The missionary had by now been called to the sick bed--up till then the lamas had been able to prevent his appearance. The strong constitution of the woman gradually gained the upper hand; she recovered to the great joy of her family. Namgyal brought an ample offering of thanks to the gods in his household temple and to those in the temple of the monastery in Tingmogang, because his relatives so demanded. He found no reason to give any presents to the lamas. On the other hand, he honored the missionary with a sheep, a large plate of dried fruit, and a greeting ribbon as a sign of his gratitude for the missionary's help; his trust in the missionary grew, and he became even more receptive to the new message which the missionary preached and testified to by his actions. 797

The year in which all this happened, the earth-tiger year, was a year of misfortune for the entire village and neighboring /135/ 164

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which are mixed in with those pills, are called in Tibetan: sna-dri, rñul-²cu, rkyag-pa, gcin, mñal-k'rag. There also exists, in Tibetan medicine, a compound of ten such unclean things.

derived from the human body. The pills may also be made entirely without the plant poisons. The pills are then secretly put in the food of the person one wants to harm, with a curse and an evil wish: "Become blind! Become mad! Lose your teeth! Become sick! Die!" and so forth. If the person threatened in this manner is born under a favorable star, and if his astrological signs (Sparka, Mewa, Lungta, and others) are favorable ones, then the pills and the charm are incapable of harming the person in any way; if the case is otherwise, then they bring sickness, chronic ill health, yes, under certain circumstances even death, so say the Tibetans.

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The lharje and the lamas exhausted their entire store of medicinal and magical lore; all was in vain. The woman from the "House of the Thrown-out" became increasingly worse instead of better. For days on end she lay in a feverish coma, then she fell into a deathlike condition so that her physicians gave her up for lost.

Finally there appeared a Lhapa (demon priest) from Lhasa who had been staying in Ladakh for some time and who traveled around in order to effect "cures." People flocked to him, and he was considered a great magical doctor. When he appeared the great man asked the people from the P'arlap'ang house what they wanted from him. The people asked him to call back the "escaped soul" of the woman. The Lhapa promised to do this. After having fasted and meditated briefly in his house, he came to the P'arlap'ang house and there made his preparations for the cure. He washed his hands, had a little table and a measure of barley brought to him. From the barley grains he formed a magical circle (dkyil-ak'or) on the little table; next to it he placed five small brass offering bowls, filling them in part with beer, and in part with barley grains. Then he threw juniper twigs and berries onto an iron pan with red-hot coals (me-ap'or), placed a crown made of papier-mache /188/ on his head, on the five leaves of which are painted the five Dhyani Buddhas. Then he took a small double drum constructed from two children's skulls; by quickly turning his hand to and fro he made a noise with it, caused by two small balls fastened to strings which alternately struck the two drum heads. With his other (left) hand he incessantly swung the magical bell and the magical dagger.

The Lhapa now invoked his tutelary demon who entered into him, so that the Lhapa entered into a state of ecstasy; he became excited, his eyes became glazed, he foamed at the mouth, he jumped up, uttering shrill screams he danced around madly. Now the spirit asked, speaking from the medium (the Lhapa): "Who has called me?" Someone answered: "The Lhapa! Who has caused the illness of the P'arlap'ang-Rolma girl?" The spirit answered: "The Naskorpas!" Someone asked: "What are we to do against the sickness? How are we to bring back the life that has fled from the woman?" The Lha (the spirit within the Lhapa) now commanded that a skurim (offering ceremony) was to be held and that a scattered offering was to be presented. The ceremony used here is called: "Lha-k'ug tse-k'ug."

All these instructions were followed by the lamas, the prayers and the ceremonies were performed and the offerings were presented. But the sick woman remained in her deathlike state. Then the lama brought 'mane' pills which he had brought with him from Lhasa. These pills had been prepared by the lama doctors of the school of medicine on the Lchakpori in Lhasa. In them was contained the wonderful power of the magical syllable "Shri" (Sanskrit, hri) which forced the "Great Merciful One," Avalokitesvara, to cure the sickness. The "Great Merciful One" appeared here in his manifestation as the "Lion-voiced One" (Simhanada) /in the form of the Lhapa, I presume, --translator./, in which he could "cure all sickness." All kinds of materials from the corpse of a saint who died in Tibet, were also supposed to be contained in the pills. The pills were administered to the sick woman in the following manner. The bronze figure of a Yidam (tutelary god), which was hollow on the inside, and which sat on its base with the mouth wide open, was placed on the patient's mouth so that the pills traveled through the figure into the mouth of the sick woman. This was supposed to heighten the healing power of the pills. But they, too, remained without effect.

/189/ Finally, when nothing was of any avail, the Lhapa declared that he now wanted to draw forth the poison of the dirt pills from the sick woman's body. He brought a wooden pipe the length of half a meter, and placing one end of the pipe on the woman's bare body he took the other end in his mouth and sucked at it energetically. Then he swung the tube around, flinging a tough, greenish mass out of it onto the floor, and declared that it was the disease substance, the poison from those pills. He said that the woman would now recuperate. But the latter continued lying on her bed like a dead person. At last

755 the lamas believed that she had really died. The p'as-pun (members of the tribe) were called in in order to pay their last respects to the "dead woman." Then, when after a few hours they wanted to raise her and put her into the prescribed crouching position, she suddenly opened her eyes; and within the next 14 days she gradually recuperated. The lamas said that their skurim was to thank for that. The Lhapa asserted that it had been his magic which had brought the dead woman back to life.

[764] For several weeks the god of death still continued to rage and reap a rich harvest in the land. Almost daily smoke went up from the cremating ovens in the Kalatse gorge. There were two leprous persons, 766 as well, among the dead. First a woman died. Her corpse was thrown into the Indus by her husband. The corpse of a young boy was carried by his own father up the mountain for "burial." The corpses of leprous persons may not be burned; one is afraid of contagion through the smoke and the anger of the offended gods. Therefore the burial is left to the vultures and the fish.

767 Finally winter set in with cold and snow, early this time, and sickness and dying came to end. The agitated minds of the people gradually were set to rest. But painful gaps had been torn into their ranks. Even among the young the god of death had this time claimed his victims. It was their karma, said the lamas, the fault of the sins of earlier existences; and the lamas would cite an old saying: "Sickness, grief, and ill repute, these three are the fruit of earlier existences that has now ripened." (163).

163. In Tibetan the saying goes: nad dan sdug-bshal gtam
han gsum--shon las nam-par smin-pa yin.

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The Karma Matures

888 There now followed again some quiet years for the inhabitants of Lower Ladakh, years in which they were spared disease and want. During these years Namgyal was able to build another addition to his house and his property, in view of his growing family--another son had been born to him. Close to his house he constructed another, smaller house as property reserved for old people (164), for his parents

164. It is a custom in Tibet for the owner of a farmstead to build a small house (k'añ-ñu) as a reservation for his aging

755 / (12) / No. 14² Large dos-mo from the dos-mo festival in Leh.

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The evil spirits of winter and of diseases are caught in the structures that resemble spiderwebs. After the exorcism, the frames are destroyed.

532 / (13) / No. 15. An old mural painting from Chans-pa (Byamis-pa) near Leh.

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Stars from the Kesar saga. The king's castle of Glin. Above it, in the clouds, are deities.

/ (14) / No. 16. An old mural painting from Chans-pa (Byams-pa) near Leh.

On the right: A scene from the Kesar saga. King Kesar with the eighteen Agus. Three women from the right. In the clouds are the father of the gods and the mother of the gods, and their children (?). On the left: A scene from the Dogra war.

/ (15) / No. 17. Ancient restored mask from Kunawar.

Evidently it also represented an Agu (hero).

No. 18. Mask of an Agu (hero) from Leh.

(The helmet has little flags stuck in it.)

² [see pp. 114-117, category 116 -- Analysis]

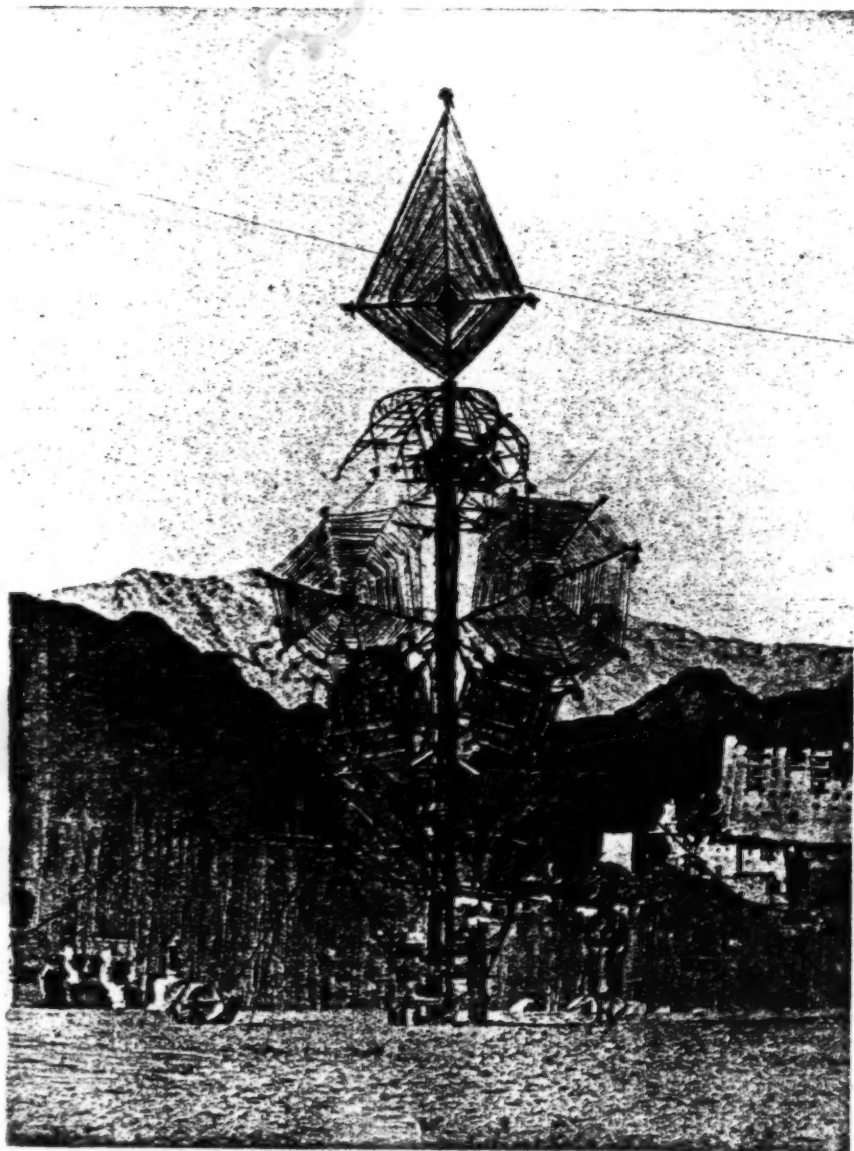
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AJ4 W. Tibetans #37

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Nr. 14. Capt. on for above picture on p. 102.

Nos. 97-98]

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and finally sacrificed. At a marriage conducted on a large scale, a sheep is thrown headlong from the roof of a house, and its heart torn out. Similarly, when sickness occurs threatening the life of the patient, a sheep has to be sacrificed.

The animal is covered with a shroud to impersonate a corpse. In the meanwhile, the relations of the sick man call him repeatedly by name, and to the accompaniment of loud lamentations the sheep is led to the cremating ground and burnt alive.

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Though in theory the taking of life and the

shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

so, especially when, in Kyelang, I had discovered significant psychological disorders in members of polyandrous households. In Ladak, the information that I gathered was not quite as sensational, but it confirmed to a large extent what I already knew now about the psychopathology of the people of these regions. 114 158

My first such visit was to the Kashmir State hospital in Leh on the 30th August, 1938. There I met the chief physician in charge, a Dogra medical officer called Dr. M. S. Diwani. He told me that venereal diseases were, as usual, the dominant illnesses which he had to treat. He attributed their wide distribution in Ladak to contacts with Moslem traders from Sinkiang, who passed them on through the intermediary of the temporary wives which they took from the local, Buddhist population. Extra to digestive troubles due to a diet of excessive tea and *chang* drinking, there were many cases of epilepsy and hysteria. The former sickness seemed mostly to plague Moslem women, while the latter was the prerogative of single Buddhist women and nuns in the nunnery. They got attacks usually during their menstrual periods, and nearly always at night. The cure for these afflictions was in the hands of the *amchis*, who cauterized the head of the patient in prescribed places. 164 115 143 158 164

There was much ostcomelitis about, Dr. Diwani said, and it was due to the *purdah* habits of Moslem women, because they did not get sufficient sun. The Buddhist women who worked on the fields never suffered from this illness. He knew of no cases of impotence or frigidity, as no one had been to see him for such ailments. There was madness in the area, the most significant case being that of the *Tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation of Tikse Gumpa (see *The Mad Tulku of Tikse* by the same author, Stepping Stones, Kalimpong, 1950). To my question as to whether he knew of homosexuality in Ladak, Dr. Diwani said that it was widespread in the monasteries, where the relations between master and novice were universally known to take on that character. 164 833 158 838 192

On the 1st September 1938, when I visited the Gad-po-pa (*rGad-po-pa*) household, and made its genealogy (see p. 368), I took advantage of my talk with the informant Chond who, it will be recalled, was an *amchi* or native doctor, to enquire from him about his practice. He told me that he had many cases of giddiness to deal with, and he attributed this to bad diet in the case of the men, and to irregularities in the menses of women. There were no cases of impotence or frigidity, as far as he knew, but many of anxiety and hysteria, which he had to treat, nearly always, in women. They were mainly to be found among single women and nuns, and often took the form of nervous blindness 158 115 833 158 153

158 and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils
[153] which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to
cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients
[155] were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat,
or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauteriza-
tion instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply
the red-hot irons.

[115] The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small
[143] dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also infor-
[164] mative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come
[183] to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases
and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyan-
dry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their
548 liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prosti-
[545] tutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said,
[195] were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among
the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi
traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist
Ladakis.

[158] The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women,
[195] but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again,
[183] this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts,
never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He
838 had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries,
[192] and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all
the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed
from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

[115] Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of
an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable of-
fence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was
looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt
sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet,
it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised
in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from
Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

226 With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention
[171] what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had
asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling
together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the
whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,